

NOV 10 1962

Operation Zulu

CPYRGHT

by Arthur I. Waskow

The following documents are part of an historical case study of decision-making in the initiation of covert action in foreign policy. I have undertaken a full analysis of Operation Zulu (to be published by Praeger in 1977), but I am glad here to offer fellow scholars and the public some early fruits of my research. It can be disclosed that these documents were retrieved by US intelligence in late 1962 before they reached the Soviet Government. Soviet Operative K-19, into whose hands they had fallen, was eliminated at once. The retrieval prevented Operation Zulu from being totally compromised, and permitted it to proceed to a successful conclusion in July, 1970. Operation Zulu itself is by now well-known, but only the recent declassification of official papers has opened its origin to scholarly scrutiny. The documents have been edited, with the assistance of the staff of the National Archives, to remove repetitive comments. - AIW.

DOCUMENT 1

Covering memorandum from Operative K-19 to the Committee of State Security, USSR, Dec. 23, 1962:

The documents reproduced below appear to represent as dangerous a threat to the forces of socialism as my report (XO-4397-B) in 1947 on Riesman plans for "The Nylon War." Please note the present program is far more advanced, having been accepted by the ruling circles of the United States. My information is that Stage 1 of Operation Zulu will be put into effect on January 1, 1963. My informant is a high official of the Department of State, a Southern gentler who says he will use any means available to prevent the success of Zulu. I recommend keeping in close touch with him as our own strategy develops.

DOCUMENT 2

From: Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
To: Chairman, Policy Planning Council, Department of State
Classification: TOP SECRET

The success of our recent operation in Cuba suggests that this government would now be administratively capable of taking the initiative elsewhere, vis-a-vis the Bloc, and that such initiatives would be both militarily and politically useful in exploiting the new situation

which has arisen. Please advise whether present contingency planning can suggest suitable specific opportunities along these lines.

DOCUMENT 3

From: Policy Planning Council, Department of State
To: Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Copies to: Secretary of State; Secretary of Defense; Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Chief of Staff, Army
Classification: TOP SECRET

A major opportunity for seizing the initiative is latent in current preparation of a sizable counter-insurgency capability in the Special Forces of the United States Army. Such a capability has heretofore been regarded as useful only in a reactive sense, as a means of resisting Bloc support for so-called "war of national liberation" (e.g., Vietnam), in states friendly to the United States. But it is possible to consider this growing capability as a presumptive tool to advance the national security of the United States by initiating action to organize or channel popular dissension in Bloc countries into effective resistance.

DOCUMENT 4

From: The President
To: The Attorney-General
Classification: TOP SECRET (Handwritten)

ARTHUR I. WASKOW is the author of *The Limits of Defense*, and co-author of the forthcoming *America in Hiding*, a history of the 1962-1963 period.

Take a look at this memo. It seems to say we should